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ACTIVITIES OF THE ECOLE FRANCAISE D' EXTREME ORIENT DURING 1940-1945.

BY MLLE. S. KARPELES

FRENCH INFORMATION BUREAU, 27, CONNAUGHT CIRCUS, NEW DELHI.

During the period of war this institution was unable to send her Bulletin to her members, correspondents and to the scientific institutions with which it was on exchange terms. At present, owing to post-war difficulties its secretariat has been temporarily established in Saigon. It is from the Cochin-Chinese capital that a most interesting booklet, summarising all the activities of this institute from 1940 to 1945 has just been published. After reading it, one may conclude that the E. F.E.O has been more fortunate than similar institutions in the Far East, as it has been able to carry on all its activities in different fields and brought out substantial studies for the benifit of many scholars.

The Bulletin which appeared during the above mentioned period, is, at present, stored up in Hanoi. Full of hope in the future and trusting that soon these publications will once again become, as it was in the past, the strong cultural link between the other world scientific institutions, the Secretariat thought it advisable to issue, meanwhile, this booklet. The few extracts given here are specially intended for the Indian elite.

Necrology

Victor Goloubew, well known in India for his different works on Indian art and studies, died in Hanoi in 1945.

Madeleine Calani, the great prehistorian scholar for Indo-China, died in Hanoi in 1943.

Georges Grosluer, well known for his studies on Khmer art and civilisation, died in Phnom Penh Cambodia in 1945, after having been cross-examined by Japanese armed police.

Library

The opening of the new five-storied building took place in March 1943; amongst the cataloguing work carried on, one must mention the preparation of a detailed catalogue concerning all the 16th, 17th, and 18th century European works on Asia that the library of the E.F.E.O. possesses. Most of them are rare specimens and form a valuable collection not only by the number of volumes but also on account of the importance of

their authors, thus brought to light. This work has been undertaken by M. Destombes who delivered an interesting nautical lecture last year in Calcutta.

Museums

Owing to the rich result of the researches carried out by Madeleine Colani and M. Paul Levy in the prehistoric field, *the museum of Hanoi* possesses valuable prehistorical collections. One hall is devoted for general prehistory and the other one to Indo-Chinese prehistory. Owing to the events of 1945 the exhibit of the Ethnographical collections had to be postponed.

The Saigon Museum has now many pre-Angkorean pieces of sculpture thanks to the researches undertaken by Mr. Malleret in Cochin-China. Among the masterpieces found one must mention 3 seated Buddhas, two standing wooden Buddhas, a Lokeśvara with the characteristic pre-Khmer arch of support, a Sūrya, a Viṣṇu, 2 feminine statuettes, not to mention the rich collections of articles that the OC-EO excavations have given.

Preservation of historical monuments

In Annam the natural site of the Misan "Cham" group monument has been converted into an "archaeological park".

In Cambodia up to the 9th March 1945 the work has progressed regularly in the archaeological fields. The "anastylos" of an important monument has been completed and another much advanced. The consolidation of Bayon's towers is finished, the northern gate at the entrance of Angkor Thom, with its highway edged on both sides by giants has been entirely restored and the same work is being undertaken at the southern gate. Many other restorations and consolidations of minor monuments and site have also been undertaken.

In Laos, the famous "Vat Prahkeo" of Vientiane which may be considered as the "Palladium" of the Laotian people, has been entirely restored in 1942.

Research Publications

Mr. Paul Levy, who during January 1946 delivered several lectures in Calcutta and Shantiniketan, has undertaken the study of India beyond the Ganges in Ptolemy's Geography. With geographical, historical and linguistic arguments, he has

been able to establish that "The Golden Chersonese" of Ptolemy is not as one commonly thought, the Malay Peninsula, but the Burmese deltas and also that the harbour of CATTIGARA is not to be searched for in TONQUIN but in Cochin-China, most probably in the vicinity of St. Jack's Cape. M. Marcel Destombes, the author of a "Catalogue of Dutch manuscript maps," which was published in 1941 in Saigon and in Hanoi in 1944, has brought out a work entitled "Petrus Plancius map of the world". Besides he went on editing his general catalogue on nautical manuscript maps, from the 13th century up to the 18th century and prepared a volume on the English maps of the East India company along with those of the privateers of America.

Mr. Ngmvēn Thiēn-Lāu, after a series of investigations on demography and "human geography" in Annam, has made several statements about it, in the "Indo-Chinese Institute for the study of man" at Hanoi which has its separate Bulletin. M. Paul Levy published in 1943 his "Prehistorical researches in the district of Mlu-Prei-Cambodia," in the 30th volume of the Ecole's Special Publications, along with archaeological comparisons and a Franco—Kuy vocabulary.

In 1940 he discovered an important layer of 2 Km long at Luang Prabang (Northern Laas) with abundant lithic material not yet met within Indo-China. It shows that prehistotical men here too lived along streams like those of France and Java. Here in Indo-China they lived along the big Mekong River, the ancient medium between the Asiatic continent and the Southern Archipelago. In 1942 M. Paul Levy also discovered near by Vientiane, 400 Km South Luang Prabang, similar palæolithes.

In 1940 Madeleni Colani has made researches on the Tran-Nuil plateau and found at an altitude of 1200 metres big monolithe jars and other tools.

Archaeology

It is in Cochin-China that the most remarkable discoveries were made in ancient maritime Cambodia. It adds a precious contribution to Founan's history in the early centuries of the Chirstian era. The most important discoveries were those made in OC-EO of which Mr. Paul Levy spoke about at the R.A. S.B. in 1945 and on which a paper has been read at the Historical Congress held last December (1946) in Patna.

In Cambodia M. Dupont excavated in 1944 the site of one of the pre-Angkorian capitals of Cambodia, at Angkor Barei, which may go back as far as the Founan period. Remarkable statues have been found during these excavations.

Mr. Coedes has continued the publication of his "Cambodian studies" in the 1940 Bulletin, of which the most important one deals with the funeral destination of the big Khmer monuments. In 1943 he also published at Hanoi a book to acquaint the public with the meaning of the Khmer ruins and what they represented in their time.

In 1944 M. Glaize, the curator of "Angkor Park", published a guide to the Angkor group of monuments with maps and illustrations.

Mr. Dupont has made a study of the mitred Viṣṇus in Indo-China in the Vol. XVI of the Bulletin, from the middle of the 8th and middle of the 9th century corresponding to the 7th century prototypes found in Pallava art.

Mr. Paris has written notes and articles in the 1941 Bulletin dealing with the ritual importance of the North-East (in Angkor monuments etc.).

In 1940 M. Dupont undertook excavations in Siam bringing to light interesting architectural specimens of Dvarati art. Besides in the tome XLII of the Bulletin he has studied a group of Buddhist images from central Malay Peninsula showing Singhalese influence which historical facts confirms. Victor Goloubew, in the 1938 Bulletin that came out in 1940, published a study on the "man with the Shawl of Mohenjadaro" contesting the opinion that this famous statue is closely connected to Indian art and represents a meditating Yogin. He is of opinion that it belongs to outer Asia and may be dated 2,350-2,200 B.C. He also published studies about a metalic drum, and brought out a publicatian entitled "Monks and pilgrims in Asia."

Epigraphy

About thirty new inscriptions have been found during 1940-45 in Cambodia and Cochin-China; none are as important as the one found in the Prah Khan monument of Angkor Park which M.Coedes published in 1941. It gives an account of the foundation and the ceremonies which were celebrated in this funeral temple dedicated to the father of Jayavarman the VII (XIIth Century) and about the laying out of roads and building

of Dharmaśālās etc. The Sanskrit and Khmer inscriptions contained in the LXII tomes of the "Corpus of Cambodian Inscriptions" that Louis Finot published in 1926 have been transcribed and translated in 1942 by Mr. Coedes in the tome III/2 in the collection of Indo-Chinese texts and documents.

The Buddhist Institute of Cambodia has printed, "Modern inscriptions in Angkor Vat" edited by Mr. Coedes.

History

In 1944 Mr. Coedes published an "Ancient History of the Far Eastern Hinduised States." The first chapter gives a brief geographical outlook as well as a summary of the present knowledge about prehistory and ethnology in Greater India. The second chapter is devoted to the inventory of India's heritage to those countries and its civilizing virtue which they enjoyed for over a millenium. Mr. R. Stein has written a very important article on "Champa's antecedents". Mr. P. Dupont has published an article on the "Dislocation of the Tehen la" or the history of Cambodia during the 8th century A.D.

Prof. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri has given in the Bulletin of 1940 the results of two decade's researches on the Kingdom of Śrīvijaya.

Ethnology, Folklore, Religions

In the tome XXXVIII of the Bulletin, Madeleine Colani has made a comparative study on the articles used now in Indo-China with the European ones belonging to the Hallotatt and Tene periods and the Far Eastern and Indonesian ones.

In the 1942 Major Scidenpaden has published a comparative study about the ceremony of the opening of the first furrow in Indo-China, and an ancient clanish agriculture custom.

In the 1941 Bulletin M. Baradat has given a rich documentation concerning the "Tamre" ethnical groups of Cambodia, known in Siam under the name of "Chung".

The studies that Albert Sabalie had published on the "Rhade" of Darlac have been republished by M. Antomarchi with notes and translation; it is an important document for ethnologues and jurists on the customs of the "Rhade" revealed by that oral literature.

Mr. Ner has collected several texts on the customs of different groups (same Khmerized in the Darlac and High regions and two Muang epics). He has published in the tome

XL of the Bulletin a study on the Mois living near by the sea, in the tome XLI of the Bulletin a monography on the Mohamedans in Indo-China amounting to some 100·000 Chams and Malay people to be found in Cambodia aud Cochin-China.

Mr. P. Giulleminet made a study of the Bahnar's customs in the Kotum region.

Mr. Ngyen van Huyen has published in the tome XXXIX of the Bulletin a monograph about village festivals and in the tome V of the collection of Indo-Chinese texts and documents, a selection of the Marriage songs in the Langson and a Bang districts in Northern Jonkin. In 1944 he brought out a volume entitled the "Cult of the immortals in Annam" dealing mainly with annamite national saints, whose legend is part of the religious and spiritual annamite patrimony. Mr. Than van Giap has published in tome XXXIX of the Bulletin a rich documentation on the "Soul's Banner" particularly important in the Annamite buddhist funeral ritual.

The Buddhist pantheons in the principal Tonquinese pagodas have been carefully studied.

Mr. P. Levy has continued his enquiries on the annual festivals in Laos and has gathered new documents on Lastian magic and customs and the daily religious life. He has been able to trace the introduction of Buddhism in Laos prior to the 14th century.

The Buddhist Institute of Cambodia has continued to issue the volumes of the Tripitaka and published the 2nd Volume of the Cambodian official dictionary, the 4th volume of the Dhammapadha Atthakatha, the second one of the Visuddhimagga (Pali) and the first volume of a Cambodian translation of the "Fifty Jātakas" (also found in Burma), a Sanskrit grammar and the first volume on royal annual festivals. Besides, the Buddhist Institute is preparing an edition of the Vinaya's commentary and of a Pali-Cambodian dictionary.

Linguistic

Mr. R. Stein has published in the tome LXI of the Bulletin an interesting article on Tibetan etymology. All that concerns purely Sinologist and Annamite studies has been omitted in this account. But this summary gives all the same a fair idea of the activities of the E.F.E.O. Scholars interested in more details may write to the Secretariat of the E.F.E.O c/o Musee de Saigon, Cochin-China, Indo-China.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCHES IN COCHINCHINA (S.W. INDOCHINA) OR THE DISCOVERY OF FOUNAN'S SITES.

MME. KARPELEO.

The general public, even ten years ago, regarded as established the fact that no trace of any very ancient civilisation could be found in the Mekong and Bassac Delta, as the swampy soil of these regions are of recent formation.

The few remains of the Khmer occupation one knew of in Cochin-China, seemed to afford some justification to this belief. As a matter of fact no systematic investigations had ever been undertaken in that ancient Cambodian site, with the exception of those carried out in 1909, by Mr. Henri Parmentier. When in 1938, Monsieur Louis Malleret, member of the E.F.E.O., undertook a thorough archæological survey of this very part of Cochin-China, district by district, he was far from expecting that these researches would lead him to the discovery of Fou-Nan Kingdom which flourished earlier than the Southern Indo-Chinese Khmer Empire.

The first researches were most encouraging and full of promises as they brought to light many pieces of evidence regarding the great pre-Angkorean period. It did not seem, as it has done, that it would add several by-gone centuries to the history of these districts. Though the archæological researches in Cochin-China were greatly handicapped by the war, it was between 1942-1944 and that, in spite of innumerable difficulties, the most important discoveries were made.

Monsieur Malleret undertook the survey of the delta's lowest regions which revealed the existence of very ancient human settlements that had remained buried under 2 feet of alluvial deposits. Amongst the discovered settlement, the most important is the one known under the name of OC-EO. It is a big town which lies 25 miles from the coast of the gulf of Siam. Aerial observation has enabled Mr. Malleret to notice that the town was in shape a vast rectangle of about 3 by 1 and 1 by 2 kilometer, area of more than 400 hectares or 8 acres 4 roads 130 perches, that is to say half the area of Angkor Thom, the ancient Khmer capital.

Cutting across the town of OC-EO runs a canal leading to another site which seems to have been an ancient harbour; thus may one think that OC-EO must have been a maritime town directly connected with the sea through a previous port.

The excavation campaign Mr. Malleret undertook in 1944 which lasted three months, revealed the existence of two archæological levels corresponding to deposits of piles habitations, a few of the piles being still *in situ*. Foundations of brick buildings have also been found but on sandy browhills, two of which are of an architectural style not yet met with in Indo-China During these excavations many articles have been brought to light; stone polished axes, as well as pottery, of the crude variety and of a sober refined kind which in shape and decoration are closely related to the already known finds from the prehistorical Indo-Chinese sites, and to those discovered by I.H.N. Evans at Kuala at Silingsing in Malaya; more than 8,000 crystal, cornelian, onyx, amethyst and glass heads of different colouring. Some of them are the so-called "Roman beads", others are gilded with a thin sheet of gold between two pieces of glass and are known as "gilding beads"; iron articles, lead amulets bearing Brahmanical symbols; silver "sun" coins of a most rare variety for Indo-China but common in Siam and Burma. The most striking discovery made is certainly that of several hundred articles of gold jewellery, rings, finger rings, seals, clasps, pendants, ear-drops, cases, ornaments of various kind, bead, necklaces, etc., with thin chasing or filigree work, showing almost delicate goldsmith's craftmanship. Hardly less important is a collection of about fifty cornelian crystal or symbols, some of which show Hellenistic affinities. One must also mention a big "cabochon", polished but uncut piece of glass paste bearing a profile with netted beard and hair, and having a bonnet of Scythic style as head-dress. It is possible for one to recognise in it a sussanide effigy without any difficulty. Articles of Roman origin were also found, and on a cornelian intaglic one may distinguish the bust and the profile of a face that leaves no doubt about its Roman origin. A golden medal bears the effigy of one of the Antonines with a very mutilated inscription where one may decipher all the same: AVREL...; another coin's inscription indicates clearly "Antoninus the Pius" with a date corresponding to 152 A.D.

The diversity of these discoveries proves the long occupation of the site representing most porbably several different periods. The Sanskrit inscription on the seals are in archaic type of script belonging to the first century of the Christian era according to M.G. Coedes, Director of the E.F.E.O.

As for the Sasanide "Cabuchon", it belongs most probably to the middle of the 4th century during which period, a sovereign of Iranian descent ruled over an ancient Hinduised state of Indo-China known as the "Founan".

Up till now, the only sources of information regarding this ancient kingdom have been Chinese texts and a few Sanskrit inscriptions. These last Cochin-Chinese discoveries enable us, henceforth to place this very kingdom on the map with a fair amount of certainty and to acquire a much more precise idea about is material civilisation and art. They throw also an "unthought of" light on certain aspects of Indian colonisation in Indo-China, and it may be considered as one of the most important achievements of French archaeology during the past years. Doubtless the maritime town known to-day under the name of OC-EO was a big "emporium" where traders from far away places used to meet; only such a hypothesis could explain the Roman and Hellenistic articles found.

Aerial survey has also revealed ancient canal system and a land surface divided into small portions, where big estates nowadays are to be found. So all this area opened to modern colonisation, less than 30 years ago, was once densely populated with small proprietors who, it appears, must have been skilful hydraulic engineers; fishery also must have been one of their means of livelihood as in their art, the maritime fauna occupies quite an important place.

Their town was also provided with many goldsmith's, lapidary's, and glass craftmen's workshops; much of the jewellery has most likely been manufactured on the spot and traces of metallurgical industry have also been found in several places during the excavation.

What has caused the ruin of such an important city, even the mere memory of which was utterly lost, is one of the most interesting problems that these discoveries put before us. The numerous golden jewellery that has been found in a scattered state allow us to think that a sudden cataclysm destroyed it

totaly but happily it has also preserved the town for being ransacked.

About a dozen of other sites, amongst which M. Malleret recognises at least a second town, were discovered in 1944 and nearly all are situated in the depressed regions of the Bassac's overflowing areas, innundated each year for a couple of weeks. It seems to indicate that important modifications have taken place during the past centuries concerning housing conditions in the low Delta and raise a geographical problem of acute interest.

One deeply regrets that the war and the sudden outbreak of the Japanese on the 9th March 1945 have paralysed and interrupted the pursuit of these researches which may be considered as a real disaster for two of the newly discovered Cochin-Chinese sites.

They have been unscrupoulusly plundered by local jewellery seekers. Twice, Malleret protested vehemently, but the Japanese authority took no steps whatever to put an end to such devastation which without exageration may be said to be a catastrophy for Science.

Monsieur Malleret's publication on his researches will appear—in French—in the B.E.F.E.O. under the title of " Transbassac archaeology " and will consists of the following fascicules each printed under separate cover :—

I Evolution of the Mekong Delta.
II Transbassac exploration (ground and aerial survey).
III OC-EO Excavations.
IV Lithic material.
V Bronze and iron metallurgy.
VI Lead metallurgy.
VII Jewellery.
VIII Jeweller's trade and glass-ware.
IX Glyptic.
X Pottery.
XI Statuary.
XII Tranbassac ancient civilisations.

The preliminary report of the 1944 Excavations will also appear in the B.E.F.E.O.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE *BRHADARANYAKA UPANISHAD*[1]

BY

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One generally hesitates to speak of the psychology of the Upanishads, for what is called the psychology of the Upanishads is as much metaphysics and ethics as psychology. The difficulty is due to the central position of the *ātman* or Brahman, which is the ultimate reality of metaphysics and the subject-matter generally of phychology. The self or self-consciousness occupies the central position in many post-Kantian philosophers; but there it is not treated psychologically. For instance, its relation with the senses does not form an important topic in the discussion of their metaphysics, and the self and the mind are invariably identified. There is, among many western idealists, the tendency to subjective idealism but it ends merely in proving that the objective world is mind dependent; and the further question is not raised how the senses and the being of the world are to be derived from the mind. The discussions in the Upanishads on the point appear rather psychological than even epistemological; and though they may appear to be subjective idealist, it would be correct to call them *ātman*-idealist, for the subject itself of epistemology along with its object is to be derived from the *ātman*. From the *ātman* issue both the *bhoktā* (enjoyer or subject) and the *bhogya* (the enjoyed or object). On this point, there are some differences of view on details in Indian thought. By some the ego (*ahaṁkāra*) or the subject of experience is derived, not from the *ātman* directly, but from *buddhi* (will-intellect), which again is either directly or indirectly derived from the *ātman*; and from the ego are said to issue both the physical body with its senses, as the instrument of experience, and the objects experienced. But the atmosphere of this discussion is so loaded with the *ātman*-idea that these differences pale into insignificance, and the objective world appears as if it is part of

1. Paper read in the Psychology Section of the Indian Science Congress, January, 1946.

the subject-matter of the *ātman*-psychology. There is again a difficulty in interpreting the ego or the subject of experience, which will be noted later.

There are some who would prefer to call the psychology of the Upanishads, for its being akin to the psychology of the soul, by the name rational psychology. The authors of the Upanishads believed in the transmigration of the soul; and rational psychology is a very near appraoach to the Upanishadic psychology. But the chief interest of the Upanishadic discussions centres in the *ātman* and not in the soul. Much of contemporary psychology is psychology without mind. But almost the whole of earlier psychology is psychology with mind as its subject matter, and its chief interest is in mind, whether this mind be the soul which transmigrates or only the mind that perishes after death. Likewise, the interest of the Upanishadic psychology is in the *ātman*, and every attempt is made to present it in its most intimate connection with the subjective and objective aspects of experience. Just as contemporary psychology is largely developed with the view of applying it to the technique of perfecting our psychic nature, the *ātman* psychology was developed with the chief aim of applying it to the realisation of the *ātman*. The Upanishads, without the least doubt, believe that the *ātman* is the sole reality; but their aim is not merely a speculative establishment of its reality, but also telling man that it has to be realised or experienced, how it has experienced, and why it has to be experienced in that way. For instance, a prescription for developing memory has a psychological theory behind it. Similarly, a prescription for obtaining the experience of the *ātman* has a theory of the *ātman* as its basis. But as the *ātman* has to be realised inwardly, as it is the innermost reality of our selves, the discussion about the nature of the *ātman* is psychological as well as metaphysical. It is impossible, except only artificially, to separate psychology from metaphysics in these discussions.

There may be some who call this psychology transcendental psychology. So long as a name, due to its particular association in other fields, does not mislead the leader, it may be used. But the reader may be warned against some misunderstandings. The word transcendental is generally associated with Kant's philosophy, where it means an entity or principle postulated in order to explain ordinary experience. The transcendental may constitute our experience or be only a regulative principle. In

either case, the process by which it is connected with our experience is critically inferred, not directly experienced. But the process by which the *ātman* constitutes the world is not merely to be inferred but also to be experienced. It is as if an introspective account also of the entities critically established can be given.

But we have to beware of another mistake. This introspective account can be the introspective account,if it may be called by that name, only of the *ātman*, but not of the ego or the *ahaṁkāra*. The introspection of the ego cannot reveal the transcendental processes like the issuing of the subject and the object from the *ātman*. Hence the establishment of these proccesses through transcendental or critical logic is not psychology but logic. For one who has experienced those processes by experisencing the *ātman*, everything can become an object of introspection: and the authors of the Upanishads present everything as such, besides using logic also.

For the reasons, it is probably safer to use the word *ātman* psychology for the psychology of the Upanishads, not because the *atman* is the psyche, but because the *ātman* is to be discovered and experienced through psychic processes. The word *ātman* is known to all the philosophers of the world; and we would be preserving the individuality of the Upanishadic tradition by lessening the scope for reading foreign ideas into it. One may still question whether all that is so included is psychology; and the question may be asked whether it is metaphysics even. The only reply possible is that the *ātman* psychology or the *ātman* metaphysics has its own peculiarity, and that its theories may be understood without attaching too great importance to some nomenclature.

The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad* is the biggest of all the Upanishads, and contains a variety of subjects and almost all the important ideas of the other Upanishads. It is said that the *Māṇḍūkya Upanishad*, which discusses the three states of the self, the waking state, the dream and the deep sleep, gives the essence of the teaching of the Upanishads. But this idea also is contained in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*. The subject matter of all the Upanishads may be divided into two parts or aspects, the *upāsana* aspect, which prescribes the forms of medication, and the theoretical aspect, which forms the theoretical basis for that prescription. For our present purpose, the theoretical is the more important.

Of all the theoretical discussions, again, the most important is the dialogue betweed king Janaka and Yajnavalkya.[1] Janaka begins with the simple question: In what light does man see the objects? Yajnavalkya replies: In the light of the sun. The discussion continues.

Janaka: In what light does man see the objects, when the sun sets?

Yajnavalkya: In the light of the moon.

Janaka: When both the sun and the moon set, in what light does man see the objects?

Yajnavalkya: Then fire is his light.

Janaka: When the sun and the moon set and when there is no fire, in what light does man see the objects?

Yajnavalkya: Then speech in his light, for then it is only with the help of speech that men locate the objects and act.

Janaka: When the sun and the moon set and fire and speech subside, in what light does man see the objects?

This is an important question, and Yajnavalkya gives a long answer. The situation described by Janaka is the situation of the dream. What is the light in which we see the object in dream? Yajnavalkya says, it is the light of the *ātman*. In dream, man creates his own objects and sees them in the light of his own self or *ātman*. The implication is that, if we are to experience the *ātman*, we have to experience that light. It is not enough to know that, as in that light we see the dream objects, we experience the light along with the objects. For what the Upanishads require of man is to experience that light as such, try to make that directly the object of cognition; but has that light is in essence the *ātman* itself, the Upanishads believe that, in that process, the distinction between subject and object will be transcended and the subject realises its identity with the *ātman*. But this is not an easy process; and the whole of the yogic discipline is meant for it.

Man wanders between the two states of dream and waking consciousness like a fish between the two banks of a river. He gets tired and falls into deep sleep, where his mind is completely at rest. There he sees nothing and does nothing. This is man's third state. In it the distinction between subject and object, *bhoktā* and *bhogya*, is lost. In it there is no second.

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1. IV, 3, 1. following.

Generally after deep sleep, man enters again one of the other two states. But one who is able to catch the light of the *ātman* and thereby realise his oneness with it, achieves the fourth state, which is beyond deep sleep and which is the *ātman* in its purity and which is existence, consciousness and bliss (*saccidānanda*). This state is a matter for experience: it is an experience to be realised, not merely to be postulated.

This discussion, as pointed out in the introduction, is both psychological and metaphysical. Further, this realisation is the highest aim of Hindu religion. Almost all great religions teach us that the highest reality or God is again our innermost reality. Generally the teaching has to be accepted on trust or faith. But the Upanishadic seers took this innermost reality more as a matter of fact than as a matter of faith. We may conveniently call it a psychological fact. They were peculiarly impressed by man's passing through the three states regularly, and were led to believe that the truth or essence of man must be found within the three states and so beyond each. It is very difficult to draw the distinction between the natural and the supernatural here. If the three states belong to the natural, the fourth or the highest state is not only a continuation of the three but also pervades each. It is what supplies the light of the dream; it is that consciousness with which man feels that he is in a sort of the grip of blissfulness and is totally ignorant of all objects in deep sleep, for even the knowledge of bliss and ignorance requires consciousness; and without that light, and in spite of the light of the sun, the moon, etc., man cannot know anything even in the waking state.

Further, this is a peculiar religious psychology, the like of which we hardly come across anywhere else and which is more often misunderstood than appreciated rightly. Religious psychology of the west is almost invariably occupied with religious sentiments, belief, faith, problems of immortality, conversion, the psychological aspects of worship and prayer, descriptions of God-consciousness, and mystical experiences, in which the individual soul is merged in the infinite mind. But by few is the question raised: If God or the Absolute is our innermost reality then what is that 'inwardising' process by which that reality can be realised? There is even a metaphysical question: If ultimate reality is our innermost reality, and if the world of perception issues out of that reality, are we to think of it as

the sum total of reality that surrounds us or as the centre of our conscious being?

There is another question, which is both psychological and epistemological for the Upanishadic seers. It is said that man passes through the states of wakefulness, dream and deep sleep and can enter the fourth state also. But who is it exactly that passes through these states? Man with his body as the subject of waking consciousness is not the subject of dream consciousness. Neither the sense organs nor the organs of action that belong to the physical body are active in dream. The body that enjoys the dream experiences is not the same as the body that enjoys the experiences of waking state. When we wake up after dream, we shake off its experiences and feel that we are really untouched by them. True, we say: "I saw that, I did that in the dream", and there is thus the identification of the 'I' of the waking consciousness with the 'I' of the dream. But there is also the repudiation by the former of the experiences of the latter, which is a disowning. Further, the latter also may either indirectly or directly disown the experiences of the former. A weak man may dream that he is a sturdy warrior, and a hungry man that his stomach is full. Though the physical body is completely at rest the dreamer dreams himself going about, seeing and acting. Thus in the dream, a new body as an instrument of action is created; there is now a new division into subject and object; there is a new *bhoktā* and new *bhogya*.

Most of the objeets we dream are experiences of the waking consciousness, or experiences built upon, or developed out of those experiences. Consequently, it may be said that the dream subject is the same as the waking subject. True, most of the dream experiences are due to the impressions left by the waking experiences. The Upanishads have no wish to refute this truth. But they clinch the fact that the waking 'I' disowns that it really enjoyed the dream experiences; it takes no moral responsibility for what happens in dreams. It is the dream 'I' that really experiences them; the waking 'I' can only be a bare witness. The Upanishads are interested in stressing the fact that the division into subject and object in dreams is different from the division into subject and object in the waking state.

It has to be pointed out in this connection that mind, subject and ego have different connotations in European and Indian thought. Mind means all these in European thought. Particuarly in contemporary psychology and phiolsophy[1], mind is not considered without the physical body. Similarly, the subject of experience has no meaning without the body. But in Indian thought, almost from the very beginnings, these mean different things. Ego is really the *ahaṁkāra* or the 'I'. According to the Sankhya, for instance, the mind occupies a lower position than the ego and is a derivate from it. In the *Bṛahadāraṇyaka*, the nature and position of *ahaṁkāra* is not explicitly discussed; but it is probably identical with the *manas*[2] which is generally translated by the word mind, or with the *purusha* or *atman* become finite. The subject of action and cognition in all the states is called the *purusha* or person. He is regarded as identifying himself with the different bodies of the three states, with the physical body in the waking state, with the spurious body of the dream, and with the *kāraṇaśarīra* or causal body of deep sleep. The peculiarity of the last is that in it the distinction between bodies which are objects and the body which is the subject is lost, and everything is said to exist in it in a latent or germinal form. In the other two states, the *purusha* is said to identify himself with the subject bodies. Therefore, if we are to take the body also as part of the subject, the dream and the waking subjects will have to be treated as different. If, on the other hand, we take the subject of experience as distinct from the body with which it identifies itself and which still it makes an object of cognition, then the subject of the two states may be treated as the same, but the bodies which are the instruments of its action and cognition as different. And if the subject is the same as the ego or *ahaṁkāra*, we have to regard the latter also similarly. Thus the ego identifying itself with the physical body repudiates the experiences of itself as identifying itself with the dream body.

When we read the evolution of the world from the innermost reality, we feel that it is the description of some mystical

1. Whitehead: *Science and the Modern World* (1926), p. 128.

2. The functions of the mind are described differently in different places of the same Upanishad. I, 5, 3, gives them as desire, deliberation, doubt, faith, want of faith, patience, impatience, shame, intelligence and fear.

experience, for which there can be no rationale. For instance the Sankhyan account of the evolution of the world from the combination of Purusha and Prakṛti is treated as mythical, or mystical, and is generally looked down upon as unscientific. The Sankhya asserts that from Prakrti is evolved the *buddhi* (will+intellect), from the *buddhi* the *ahaṁkāra* (ego), from the *ahaṁkāra* the *manas* (mind) and the five *tanmātras* (subtle elements), from the *manas* the five sense organs and the five organs of action (hands, feet, penis, anus, and the organ of speech), and from the five subtle elements the five gross elements. Obviously, this is not the evolution of the world as science teaches us. But from the standpoint of the *ātman*-psychology and metaphysics, such must be the evolution of the world. If everything is to evolve from the innermost reality, and if that reality is the *ātman*, then everything is to be derived or has to evolve out of the *ātman*. How can we understand this process?

If we are to depend entirely upon the world of waking consciousness for understanding the process of the evolution of the world from the innermost reality, we are helpless. All that can be said, following Berkeley, is that the objects are mind-dependent. Probably Berkeley, as a religious man, was guided in his writings by the motive of proving that everything was to be derived from the innermost reality. But this motive did not work openly and systematically, and he was dismissed by many as a subjective idealist. The Upanishadic seers made no secret of their intention, and they followed a special method. They saw that man was able to create a body with the organs of action and of cognition along with their corresponding objects in dream. He identifies himself with the body of the dream and becomes the agent and enjoyer. From his own ego or *ahaṁkāra*—if we distinguish the *ahaṁkāra* from the body—the dream mind that feels pain and pleasure, the body with its organs, and the objects are evolved. The ego that passes from the waking state to the dream withdraws the functions of the sense organs into itself—so the Upanishad says[1]—in the transition, and throws them out again when it creates the dream-body and the objects. Here the senses and their objects are evolutes out of the *ahaṁkāra*. The Sankhya introduces the *manas* (mind) in between the *ahaṁkāra* and the senses, as common unity of the last and also for sensing pain and pleasure.

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1. II, 1, 18.

Similarly, is the world of the waking consciousness evolved? Both the subject, which is the body, and the objects are evolutes[1] out of the ego. Just as the body is my body, the objects I cognise are my objects. The experience of which the subject and object are two poles is my experience or some person's experience. Such an experience, with its two poles, according to the Upanishads, is an evolute ultimately from the self or *ātman*. The Upanishads are aware of the stability and instability respectively of the waking and dream experiences, but this difference does not alter the mode of evolution. There are some differences of view on this throwing out and withdrawing of the senses and their objects in Indian thought. Yet the general nature of the process is the same for all. And if at all the religious truth that ultimate reality is the same as our innermost reality is true, then the rationale of the truth can be found in the Upanishads only.

The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* account of this process of evolution and withdrawal is somewhat different from that of the Sankhya. Of the functions of the waking state, *prāṇa* [2] or vital force is regarded as higher than mind and the senses. But in the passage from wakefulness to dream, the body is said to be left in charge[3] of the vital force; the mind and other functions are withdrawn and used in dream. Higher than mind is *vijñāna*, which works in both these states. During deep sleep also, the body is left in charge of the vital force; but mind and the other senses are withdrawn into *vijñāna* and *vijñāna* itself, in a germinal state, enters ignorance, which is, for the Upanishads, a positive entity, psychical and metaphysical. This ignorance of deep sleep is the cause of the world of subject and object. The light of consciousness that is hidden by this ignorance and lights up the dream world, and without which the world of waking consciousness

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1. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* says that a hundred or even a thousand senses with corresponding objects may be evolved. II, 5, 19. But our knowledge is limited to a few only.

2. I, 5, 3. *Prāṇa* is of six kinds. *Prāṇa* is the nerve function proceeding from the heart upwards. *Apāna* proceeds from the heart downwards. *Vyāna* is the connection between the two. *Udāna* causes nutrition, etc., and extends from the feet upwards. *Samāna* in the belly helps assimilation of food and drink. *Ana* connects all.

3. II, 3, 12.

cannot be really experienced, is the *ātman*. Without it the world of forms cannot produce in us the experience that it exists.

Here there are some physiological considerations. The person of the waking state, taking mind and the senses with him, moves about in the body of the waking state in dream.[1] And both in dream and deep sleep, he enters certain nerves called *hitas*, which extend from the heart to the pericardium.[2]

There is another consideration which belongs to para-psychology, particularly to the psychology of transmigration. It is said that the state between one life and another, between life in this world and life in the other, is that of the dream.[3] That is, the dream state intervenes not only between the waking state and deep sleep but also between two lives. When the physical body is left back at death, mind, etc., are withdrawn into *vijñāna*, which leaves the body and creates a dream-world till a new body is found. In that dream state, the person or *purusha* is able to percieve both the past life and the future. The rationale of this statement can be understood easily only after psychic research is sufficiently advanced.

To sum up. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, there are four points of psychological interest. The first and the most important is the *ātman* psychology with its three states. It is also religious psychology as well as metaphysics. The second is the importance given to the *prāṇa* or vital force. Its presence makes the body living and absence dead. It is to take charge of the physical body when mind and the senses leave it in dream and deep sleep. The third is the consideration about the nerves called the *hitas*, which consciousness enters in dream and deep sleep. The fourth is the psychology of transmigration.

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1. II, 1. 18.
2. IV, 3, 20 & II, 1, 19.
3. IV, 3, 9.

"THE VITALITY AND PERSISTENCE OF SANSKRIT."

BY

SRI K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B.A., B.L.

In his widely read and fascinating book 'The Discovery of India', Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the noblest personalities of this age, devotes a few pages to the exposition of what he calls "The Vitality and Persistence of Sanskrit". (*See* pages 182-188). We find therein many true and significant observations worthy of the serious attention of all Indians, specially those politicians who are entrusted with the task of guiding the educational policy of our country. "Sanskrit," he says, "is a language amazingly rich, efflorescent, full of luxuriant growth of all kinds, and yet precise and strictly keeping within the frame-work of grammar which Panini laid down two thousand six hundred years ago. It spread out, added to its richness, became fuller and more ornate, but always it stuck to its original roots."

Commenting on the structure of the language he quotes a weighty observation made by the great oriental scholar, Sir William Jones, as long ago as 1784: "The Sans krit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin and more exquisitely refined than either". Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru further observes that Sir William Jones was followed by many other European scholars, English, French, German and others who studied Sanskrit and laid the foundations of a new science, comparative philology. He truly remarks that "Sanskrit, like other classical languages, is full of words which have not only poetic beauty but a deep significance, a host of associated ideas, which cannot be translated into a language foreign in spirit and outlook. Even its grammar, its philosophy have a strong poetic content; one of its old dictionaries is in poetic form. Our modern languages in India are children of Sanskrit and to it owe most of their vocabulary and their forms of expression. Many rich and significant words in Sanskrit poetry and philosophy, untranslatable in foreign languages, are still living parts of our popular languages". This is indeed quite true and rests upon the solid foundation of easily ascertainable facts. To give one example, the two Sanskrit words 'Tattva' and 'Bhāva'

are so rich and significant that they are used invariably in Tamil. They have come to form part of the structure of the Tamil language itself, so that many people regard them as Tamil words. He says "Sanskrit itself, though long dead as a language of the people, has still an astonishing vitality". He regrets that there is hardly any translation in English or any other foreign language from the Sanskrit which can be called worthy or just to the original. Both Indians and foreigners have failed in this work for different reasons. That is a great pity and the world misses something that is full of beauty and imagination and deep thinking, something that is not merely the heritage of India but should be the heritage of the human race." He refers to the illustrious example of the English people. He says "The hard discipline, reverent approach and insight of the English translators of the Authorized Version of the Bible, not only produced a noble book, but gave to the English language strength and dignity. Generations of European scholars and poets have laboured lovingly over Greek and Latin classics and produced fine translations in various European languages. Unfortunately this work has yet to be done with the Sanskrit classics."

Writing about the application of the expression 'Dead Language' to Greek and Latin, Mr. D'Arcy W. Thompson in his book 'Day dreams of a School-Master' says as follows: "I can understand what is meant by a 'Dead Sea' and should suppose it to be a sheet of water cut off from all intercourse with the main ocean; never rising with its flow; never sinking with its ebb; never skimmed by the sail of commerce; never flapped by the wing of wandering bird; undisturbed by the bustle of the restless world; but slumbering in a desolate wilderness". "But can such a term be applied to that Hellenic speech that in the Iliad has rolled, like the great Father of Waters, its course unhindered down three-thousand years; that in Pindar still soars heavenwards, staring at the sun; that rises and falls in Plato with the long, sequacious music of Æolian lute; that moves stately and black-stoled in Æschylus; that pierces with a trumpet-sound in Demosthenes? If it be dead, then what language is alive?" Much in the same manner and style, I ask, can such a term be applied to that Sanskrit speech that in the Ramayana has rolled its course unhindered down 5000 years and is still sung and expounded in street corners

and platforms to admiring and devoted audiences in every hamlet in India; that in the Upanishad still soars heavenwards, staring at the sun and becomes at once the solace of one's life and the solace of one's death; that rises and falls in the Veda in one long and sequacious music, when solemnly intoned on all happy and auspicious occasions in every Hindu home and festival; that pierces with a trumpet-sound in the Bhagavad Gita; that moves with dulcet symphony in Kalidasa and that attains majesty and all-comprehensive sweep in the Mahabharata? If Sanskrit be dead, then what language is alive? Dr. F. W. Thomas speaking at the Oriental Conference held in 1937 at Trivandrum pointed out what a great unifying force Sanskrit had been in India and how widespread its use still was. He actually suggested that a simple form of Sanskrit, a kind of basic Sanskrit should be encouraged as a common All-India language today. Speaking many years before this Dr. Otto Schrader of the Adyar Library in an address delivered by him in 1905 at the Ranade Hall, Mylapore, suggested the form of an easy simple Sanskrit composed of words in current use in the languages of the people in India as the basic Sanskrit which can be adopted as common All-India language. Pandit Nehru says "it is interesting to note that in modern Thailand when the need arose for new technical, scientific and Governmental terms, many of these were adapted from Sanskrit". Even the languages of Southern India had always in the past adopted a brotherly attitude and absorbed many words, phrases and forms of expression from Sanskrit. This is only natural as the same common culture finds expression in them. In fact one is struck by the beautiful way in which fine, vibrant and sweet Sanskrit phrases are blended harmoniously into the exquisite poetry and heavenly music of the Tevaram Hymns of the Tamil Saint, Appar Swamigal. *Vide* two Hymns in praise of the Lord of Tiruvizhimizhalai and Tiruvarur in the Tamil country.

1. தாயானைச் சக்கரமாற் கீந்தான் றன்னைச்
   சங்கரனைச் சந்தோக சாமமோதும்
   வாயானை மந்திரிப்பார் மனத்துளானை
   வஞ்சனை யாலஞ் செழுத்தும் வழுத்துவார்க்குச்
   சேயானைத் திருவீழி மிழலையானைச்
   சேராதார் தீநெறிக்கே சேர்கின் றாரே.

Note the phrase छन्दोगसाम

2. சங்கரன்காண் சக்கரமாற் கருள் செய்தான் காண்
தருணேந்து சேகரன் காண்டலைவன் றான்கா
ணங்கமலத்தயன் சிரங்களைந்தி லொன்றை
யறுத்தவன் காணணிபொழில் சூழையாற்றான்கா
ணெங்கன் பெருமான் காணென்னிடர்கள் போக
வருள்செய்யு மிறைவன் காணிமை யோரேத்துஞ்
செங்கமல வயல்புடை சூழ்திருவாரூரிற்
றிருமூலட்டானத்தெஞ் செல்வன்றானே.

Note the word तरुणेन्दुशेखर

BOOK REVIEWS.

Bhoja's Srngara Prakasa.—A Thesis by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D., Department of Sanskrit, University of Madras. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay. Parts 1 and 2, Rs. 15-0-0.

It is an important fact to be noted by all lovers of literature, especially by those unacquainted with Sanskrit literature, that there is a well-developed system of poetics and literary criticism in Sanskrit, called by the general name Alamkara Sastra, which will repay a careful study by all students of literature, to whatever language the particular literature they study may belong. The history of Sanskrit literary criticism dates from remote antiquity. There has been an illustrious galaxy of authors beginning from Sage Bharata, such as Bhamaha, Dandin, Vamana, Kuntaka, Anandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Kshemendra, Dhananjaya, Rajasekhara, Mammata and Appayya Dikshita. Among them, Bhoja occupies a very prominent place. He is known as the author of two important works on literary criticism, one namely the Sarasvati Kanthabharana and the other the Srngara Prakasa. The Sarasvati Kanthabharana is a smaller treatise, while the Srngara Prakasa is a very comprehensive work which endeavours to bring under literature and literary appreciation, everything of importance in Indian thought. King Bhoja of Dhara is reputed, according to well-known literary tradition, as a great scholar and patron of many poets. It is indeed very highly probable that he should have been the author of these two works, though doubts have been thrown on it by some scholars. The editors of the New Indian Antiquary propose to publish Dr. Raghavan's thesis on this work of Bhoja in four parts. Two parts have already come out in print, the second of which we have received recently. The Srngara Prakasa itself consists of thirty six chapters and has not yet been published in full. But the thesis of Dr. V. Raghavan will effectively enable us to have a correct and comprehensive idea of the contents of the Srngara Prakasa, its place in the history of Sanskrit Literary criticism, its contribution to Indian thought on the various aspects of literary criticism, such as Gunas, Doshas, Alamkara, Rasa,

Dhvani, etc., the details of the topics dealt with by it and also the relation of its thought to the development of literary criticism both before and after it. I am sure that the two volumes of the thesis will themselves constitute an important work on literary criticism in Sanskrit. Dr. V. Raghavan, though young in years, has attained a great mastery of this branch of Sanskrit learning. He has already contributed many articles which have been published later in book form such as "The Number of Rasas", "Some Concepts of the Alamkara Sastra" etc. He is one of the Lecturers in the University of Madras and as one responsible for the Catalogus Catalogorum, he has acquired an intimate acquaintance with the voluminous manuscript literature in Sanskrit. He is eminently qualified to bring to bear the search-light of his vast knowledge and deep erudition on such a massive work like the Srngara Prakasa.

The name, Srngara Prakasa, given to the work requires explanation. The first impression of the reader will be that it refers to the well-known Srngara Rasa of the Alamkara Sastra. But Bhoja has not used it in that sense. In his work he has developed a new theory of Rasa. The distinctive features of Rasa are, according to him, connoted by the epithets Abhimana-Ahamkara and Srngara. The epithet Srngara is used by him in the sense of signifying 'the peak of cultural perfection' attained by the soul of man when it is imbued with Rasa. Another remarkable feature of Rasa is that it is capable of transforming into pleasure even painful things. In poetry and drama tragedy becomes a source of poetic and literary enjoyment and a spectator of death and misery enacted on the stage moved to pity in sympathetic response derives, in strange contrast, the unique pleasure of aesthetic enjoyment. This Bhoja considers a peculiar characteristic of Rasa and he connotes it by the word 'Abhimana'. Another characteristic of Rasa according to him is the development of self-consciousness in the Rasika. All literary enjoyment is according to him subjective. Kalidasa has finely expressed the same idea in the phrase "तन्मयत्वं रसेषु". The whole theory has emanated from the characteristic tendency of the Hindu mind for analysis and synthesis at the same time. As Dr. Raghavan explains on page 420 of the Second Part, Bhoja has one fundamental Rasa, then a number of bhavas all capable of becoming Rasas themselves, though the name Rasa applies to them only through Upacara, and lastly

they all become again the one Rasa of Preman. Similar theories have been suggested by others. The great Poet Bavabhuti refers to the theory that the Karuna Rasa is the one and only Rasa and the the other Rasas are only Vivartas of it, *i.e.*, apparent but not real modifications of it. Hence, according to Bhoja, Rasa can be aptly described by the three epithets Abhimana-Ahamkara-Srngara. Srngara being the most important of them all, he has given the name Srngara Prakasa to the work so that the name itself might suggest his original contribution to the theory of Rasa.

Dr. Raghavan's thesis must be accepted on all hands as a great contribution to the thought on Sanskrit literary criticism and the late Mahamahopadhyaya Professor Kuppuswami Sastri's opinion expressed in his Foreword "that when the whole treatise is published the world of scholars will see how King Bhoja's mind was moving about a thousand years ago in the sphere of literary criticism in Sanskrit and what a well-informed Sanskrit scholar of conspicuous ability—Dr. Raghavan—has done in the same sphere in modern times" is thoroughly justified.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AYYAR.

The Religious Basis of the Forms of Indian Society. Indian Culture and English Influence. East and West. By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Orientalia, 47 West 47th Street, New York. 1946.

Dr. Coomaraswamy to whom the world owes so much for its understanding of Indian art, has, for some years now, been one to whom, to quote his own words in the first of the lectures mentioned above, "no day passes in which he does not search the Scriptures, and the works of the great theologians of all ages, so far as they are accessible to him in modern languages and in Latin, Greek, or Sanskrit," and one to whom the interpretation to the West of the fundamental principles of Hindu view of life, social organisation and philosophical ideals has become a mission.

The first of the three lectures published in this booklet is an address delivered by him at Ann Arbor to the Students' Religious Association; and the second is an address to Indian Students and their friends at the Massachussets Institute of Technology. The central aim of all the three lectures is to

explain the value of the Oriental pattern of Traditional life based on Dharma as against the worthless, competitive, commercial, economic, class ridden social fabric of the West. The significance of Puruṣārtha, Varṇa, Āśrama, Dharma, vocation, craft, etc. are all effectively explained, with appropriate quotations of parallel ideas from eminent ancient and medieval writers of the West, as also some of the recent writers of the West on Indian culture like Rene Guenon, who, as a contrast to the philological orientalists, have established "a real and vital contact with Indian metaphysics, which become for them a transforming experience." To those of us especially who, under the influence of the western institutions, are unable to understand the high value of our own ancient scheme, these lectures, which point out the danger of a modern Indian falling between two stools, will be most valuable. The West is called upon to listen to the message of the East, not the East of Nehru even, but of Gandhi. Learned, illuminating and at the same time of wide range, touching several aspects of modern Indian life and even minute details of polity like the anti-Brahman employment G. O., these lectures call upon us to save and maintain our own "evaluated and significant" way of living, not get disorganised and go down before the tempest of the 'equalitarian' preachings of modern West, and free ourselves from "the British Government, the 'hold-fast' (Namuci) of the present age," and that Empire which "is a commercial financial institution having theft as its final object."

Besides their value to scholars, these lectures on the real significance of Hindu social make-up and its idealogy are exerting a great deal of good influence in America to which quislings were being flown by our imperialist 'Namucis' to discredit us. In the valuable notes and bibliography appended to the first lecture, attention may specially be drawn to the book "Alternative to Death" by the Earl of Portsmouth, 1944.

V. R.

Candralekhā Saṭṭaka of Rudradāsa. Edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M. A., D. Litt., Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Rs. 6-0-0.

Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Kolhapur, has already establised himself as an assiduous, thorough-going and scholarly editor in the field of Jain and Prākṛt studies. The present publication issued through the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Sjt. K. M.

Munshi, Bombay, belongs to the latter field in which Dr. Upadhye has already given us Kamsavaho, Usāniruddha etc. The work belongs, like the Kamsavaho and the Usāniruddha, to Kerala in South India and to an age when Prākṛt was cultivated by some as a mere literary exercise. The edition is based on three manuscripts and is furnished with full critical apparatus in the form of Introduction, Notes, Indices, etc. In his learned and lengthy Introduction, the editor discusses the Mss. material, the contents of the play which deals with the marriage of Mānaveda, Zamorin of Calicut, with princess Candralekhā, Indian Drama in general and the Saṭṭaka class in particular to which the present work belongs, the Saṭṭakas known so far, the Prākṛt of the work, and the author Rudradāsa of Calicut in Kerala who probably wrote about the middle of the 17th century. His remark in the Introduction (p. 27) that the popular origin of the Vidūṣaka is strengthened by the Prākṛt basis of his name which is suggested to be a hyper-Sanskritised back-formation from *viuso* or *viusao* (with *k*-suffix) to be connected to *Vidvas* is a speculation requiring further evidence in its support.

V. R.

Prākṛt Languages and Their contribution to Indian Culture. By Dr. S. M. Katre, M.A., Ph.D. Bharatiya Vidya studies 3. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Rs. 2-8-0.

Dr. S. M. Katre, Director of the Deccan College Post Graduate Research Institute, occupies a leading place today among the linguists in the field of Indian Indologists. Sjt. Munshi is to be congratulated on securing his servies for presenting to the scholars, students and the general cultured public a monograph in the Series of popular studies of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan on the important subject of Prākṛt Languages and Literature. The aim of the Publisher and the ability and success of the author have been well realised in this compact book of about a hundred pages, dealing with Middle Indo-Aryan language and literature, linguistic features of Middle Indo-Aryan, contribution of Middle Indo-Aryan to old Indo-Aryan and New Indo-Aryan and Middle Indo-Aryan literature on Arts and Sciences. The book is an Introduction giving a panoramic view, adopting an original approach from the point of view of culture and contribution.

V. R.

Vedavāda dvātriṃśikā by Siddhasena Divākara. Bhāratīya Vidyā Granthāvalī, 7, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 0-12-0.

There is a class of writings of old Jain authors like Yogīndu and Kundakunda which take the form of mystic literature, the characterisation of the Supreme Divinity and its seeker in these works being of a non-sectarian character and exhibiting vocabulary and ideas that are common to the Upaniṣads, Gītā etc. To this class belongs the present work of the well known Jain author Siddhasena Divākara. In thirty-two verses cast in vedic metrical forms, Siddhasena Divākara describes here the ultimate reality and its realisation, almost in the words, phrases and even lines of the Upaniṣads, notably the Śvetāśvatara. Pandit Sri Sukhalalji Sanghavi has explained the verses fully in a Hindi gloss and Introduction.

V. R.

Dhūrtākhyāna of Haribhadra Sūri. Singhi Jain Series 19. Edited by Sri Jinavijayamuni. With a Critical Introduction by Dr. A. N. Upadhye. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, Rs. 5-8-0.

The ex-Brahman Haribhdra Sūri was a prolific Śvetāmbara Jain writer of the 8th century A. D. One of his works is the Dhūrtākhyāna in Apabhraṃśa Prākṛt intended to bring into ridicule Brahmanic Purāṇas and Itihāsas. The work is ably edited by the Jain scholar Muni Jinavijayaji. Dr. A. N. Upadhye's lengthy introduction discusses, among many other subjects, the value of the work as satire. The Prākṛt text is followed by the Sanskrit version of Sanghatilakācārya, and the Gujarathi version of an unknown author.

V. R.

Srimad Bhagavad Gītā Laghukośa: A Concise Dictionary of the Bhagavad Gītā. Compiled by Sri Lakshmana Raghunath Gokhale, Vakil, 419, Narayan Peth, Poona. Rs. 10.

This is a very valuable publication. Sri Lakshman Raghunath Gokhale, a keen student of the Gītā, has given us here first the text of the Gītā; immediately beneath the respective series of verses, the *Padaccheda* of the verses is given; and this is followed by an Alphabetical Dictionary of the words in the Gītā, each word being treated at some length from the point of view of its grammar, meaning and philosophical

significance. The medium of explanation adopted is Marathī. We congratulate Sri Lakshman Raghunath Gokhale on this work of his, and wish him success in the other items of Gītā-work he has thought of.

V. R.

Hinduism outside India : By Swami Jagadiswarananda. Sri Ramakrishna Ashram, Rajkot, Kathiawar. Rs. 2-8-0.

It is wellknown to scholars that the great Hindu civilization had a successful colonial history in countries outside India, especially in the Far East regions. But this glorious chapter of Indian History is not adequately known to the general public. It is but fitting that a votary of the Ramakrishna Mission, to whom has fallen the task of carrying the message of Hinduism to the distant countries of the modern world, should have brought in the form of a popular book accounts of the part played by Hinduism in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Combodia, Indo-China, Phillipines, Bali, Java, Malaya and the Americas. Besides his own articles, Swami Jagadisvarananda has included here some articles of Dr. D. N. Roy, Dr. S. K. Chatterjee and Swami Gambhirananda. The book is bound to be useful in enlightening the general readers who are not familiar in the specialised works of research in this field.

V. R.

Studies in the Ramayana. By Sahitivallabha Sarasvata Sarajna T. Sundaracharyar of Shiyali B.A., B.L. Gopathi Narayanaswami Chetti Road, T. Nagar, Madras. Rs. 2.

Sri T. Sundarachariar is a highly gifted exponent of Sanskrit classics. Few will be the literary audiences in South India interested in Sanskrit that have not heard him or admired his marvellous memory, literary approach and keen wit. It is a happy circumstance that one who had all the time adopted mostly the medium of lecture has come forward to give his ideas in the enduring form of a book. This is the first of his series of studies on the Rāmāyaṇa, covering the Bālakāṇḍa; written in excellent prose, the exposition is followed by appendices and notes giving a number of valuable ideas and references. We hope that Sri Sundarachariar will soon complete the exposition of the Rāmāyaṇa, and give us also in book-form his wellknown expositions of the themes of the Mahābhārata, the Bhāgavata etc.

V. R.

Tolkāppiyam-Collatikāram, with an English Commentary. By Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A., PH.D. Annamalai University Tamil Series 9. Rs. 5.

Historical Tamil Reader. By Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, Annamalai University. Rs. 2-8-0.

Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, who combines equipment in both Sanskrit and Tamil, is familiar to the readers of the Journal of Oriental Research, through which were published two parts of his English annotated editions of the Tolkāppiyam and his History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil. The Annamalai University authorities are to be congratulated for giving a fillip to his work on Tamil Grammar and Literature. In the first mentioned book, Dr. Sastri gives us the text of the 460 sūtras of the nine chapters of the Collatikāram or the section dealing with Syntax and Morphology in the oldest extant Tamil Grammar, Tolkāppiyam, with Roman transliteration, and English Translation and Notes which include illustrations. In a detailed preface, he draws attention first to such of the sūtras in the whole text of Tolkāppiyam as are valuable for a historical student of Tamil Grammar, and show evidences of Sanskrit influence; discusses then the date of the Tolkāppiyanār which according to him is not later than 2nd Cent. B. C., and lastly describes the commentators on the text. As the Editor has pointed out in his preface, such a translated and English annotated edition will greatly benefit students of language outside Tamilnad.

It is on the suggestion of one such linguist outside Tamilnad, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji of Calcutta, that Dr. Sastri compiled his short Historical Tamil Reader, giving selections of Tamil from Tolkāppiyam down to the present day, each selection carrying the text in Tamil and Roman scripts, prose order, English Translation, and explanatory notes, both linguistic and literary. These selections are preceded by an introduction which deals with the growth and nature of Tamil language and grammar.

We are glad that Dr. Sastri is continuing his edition of the Porulatikāram of the Tolkāppiyam in the Journal of Oriental Research.

V. R.

Toni-vilakku (Tamil Translation of the Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana). By Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri.

(P. S. Ganesa Sastri, 38, Pandyan Lane, Andar Street, Teppakulam, Trichy). Rs. 3.

To the poor literature of poetics in Tamil, Dr. P. S. S. Sastri has added this translation of his of the most important classic of literary criticism in Sanskrit, the Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana, expounding the principle of suggestion as the centre of poetic appeal. The difficulty of the task of translating such a text is all the greater because of the corruptions in the text, but in this respect, the translator has had the benefit of the corrections of the text made by the late Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar. Besides students of Tamil, Sanskrit students studying the original Dhvanyāloka may also find this book useful.

V. R.

Digvijayamahākāvya by Meghavijayagani. Edited by Pandit Ambalal Premchandra Saha. Singhi Jain Series. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Rs 5-12-0.

This is a poem in thirteen cantos describing the life and religious activities of two Jain monks, sixtieth and sixtyfirst, of the Tapāgccha, Vijayadevasūri and Vijayaprabhasūri, of the 17th cent. by Meghavijayagaṇi, pupil of Kṛpāvijayagaṇi of the same Gaccha and century. Of the two Teachers eulogised here, the former was the more celebrated, he having been dealt with in other separate kāvyas by the present author himself as well as by others. Vijayadeva was honoured by Jehangir, and his religious itinerary extended up to Golconda and Bijapur.

The author is a prolific writer who wrote besides ten Kāvyas, works on Jain dialectics, religion, philosophy, astrology, palmistry, and grammar. Four poems of his are in the form of Samasyāpūrtis of lines taken from Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha and Śrīharṣa. One other poem executes by Śleṣa seven themes at one stroke (saptasandhāna). In the present poem too, the author shows his skill in Śleṣa, Yamaka etc., but exhibits some metrical lapses. The poem as a whole is mainly of historical value.

The editor has done his work well. He has furnished the publication with an Introduction on the author and his works, two glosses on the text, one found in the ms. itself and another his own, and an appendix carrying a short prose account of the life of the same monks as are eulogised in the main poem.

V.R.

The Cidgaganacandrikā of Kālidāsa, edited with a new commentary called Divyacakorikā by Sri Pandit Karra Agnihotri Sastri c/o The Gautami Vidya Pitha, Rajahmundry. Rs. 4-8-0.

The Cidgaganacandrikā is an important work for the Śāktas who prize it as a work of the great poet Kālidāsa. It was published from Calcutta in the Āgamānusandhāna Samiti series. Sri Pandit Karra Agnihotri Sastri, an erudite Śākta scholar of Āndhradeśa, has come forward with a revised edition of the text, supplying the verses known through citations, correcting some of the readings, and adding his own gloss. Owing to the great difficulty of printing, he has brought out only a part of the work; it is hoped that the Gautamī Vidyā Pīṭha, Rajahmundry, and its enthusiastic and enlightened Founder-Treasurer will publish the whole work soon.

V.R.

The Mahābhāratatātparyaṭīkā, Jñānadīpikā, of Devabodhācārya. Udyogapārvan. Edited by Dr. S. K. De. Bharatiya Vidy Bhavan. Bombay. Rs. 3.

Devabodha is the earliest known commentator of the Mahābhārata, and as such his work has rightly been used for the critical edition of the Mahābhārata of the BORI, Poona. Unfortunately Devabodha's commentary is available only in a single plamleaf in the RAS., Bengal; and this ms too is fagmentary. Devabodha follows the northwestern Śaradā K. version of the Epic.

Dr. S.K. De, of the Dacca University, who has edited the Udyoga Parvan for the BORI, has offered us here an edition of the Jñānadīpikā of Devabodha for the Udyoga Parvan. The commentary on the Ādi Parvan has been edited by Dr. R.N. Dandekar in the Annals of the BORI, Poona. The text as offered in the only available ms. shows gaps which the Editor has reconstructed on the basis of the text of later commentators who are definitely known to have followed and borrowed from Devabodha.

If may be pointed out that from his comments on the well known Mahābhārata verse "Suvarṇapuṣpām pṛthivīm" on p. 17 here, Devabodha appears to have written after the time Ānandavardhana and his Dhvanyāloka.

V.R.

Nibandhasangraha. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Rs. 5-0-0. Bharatiya Vidya Miscellany. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Rs. 4-0-0.

These two volumes of papers are in honour of the merchant-prince Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji whose munificent patronage of the cause of research has been responsible for many important literary endevours like the Singhi Jaina Grantha Mālā. As a recognition of his help to the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, the Bhavan's Library, its Hall and the Jain Department will be named after him. Sixteen contributions from various scholars enrich the English volume and twenty-eight, the Gujarathi and Hindi Volume. The latter comprises accounts of the life and achievements of the Singhi family which should be the object of emulation by the rich of the country. This volume contains also reproductions of some paintings from Jain ms.-decorations.

V.R.

AN INDO-BRITISH GOODWILL AND CULTURAL MISSION TO INDIA

Mr. Vyvyen Jenkins (Secretary) has sent us the following communication:—

The Mission is being organised on the initiative of the Indian Cultural Unity Movement, in co-operation with the Vedanta Society, the Society for Cultural Fellowship with India, the League for the Federation of Mankind, and the International Animal Service.

The objects of the Mission are:

(1) To interchange ideas and views with distinguished Indians in order to facilitate friendly contact with India at a time when she is regaining her cultural and political freedom, and to present to the Indian public the ideals and principles upheld by the Organisations forming the Mission.

(2) To gain first-hand experience of the great cultures extant in India, and to study their mutual relations and their contributions towards the evolution of a cultural federation of mankind.

(3) To strengthen the relationship of cultural give and take between Indians in Britain and Indians in India.

(4) To help establish a cultural understanding between India and Britain through close association with the spirtual, cultural, social and political groups and societies in India.

The Mission is going to India with a sincere feeling of comradeship and respect for the Indian people, and it is shouldering a heavy financial responsibility for the sake of an ideal. It is hoped that the members of the mission, after their return from India, will arrange an all-Britain tour in order to share their Indian experiences with the people of this country and to create thereby a cultural bridge between India and Britain.

The Mission will be led by Swami Avyaktananda (Founder of the Vedanta Movement in Britain, and President of the Indian Cultural Unity Movement) and will consist of Vyvyen Jenkins (President, the Society for Cultural Fellowship with India), Dr. D. N. Dutt (member, the Indian Cultural Unity Movement), Robert Horniman (member, the Vedanta Society), Margaret Flint (Assistant Secretary, the League for the Feder-

ation of Mankind), Rev. W. M. Andrew (member, the League for the Federation of Mankind), and M. Van Sprang (President, the International Animal Service).

The Mission hopes to arrive in India by September, 1947, and to stay for about six months, visiting all important cities, some towns and a number of villages, so as to come in touch with all sections of the people. In order to feel at one with the ordinary people, the members will follow a simple mode of living in all possible ways.

The members of the Mission will be pleased to accept the hospitality of friendly people in order to come into intimate association with Indian family life. They will value the assistance and co-operation of like-minded people in achieving the objects of the Mission, through fellowship dinners based on vegetarianism (acceptable to all communities), informal tea parties, interviews with people of note, public meetings, conferences and visits to temples, mosques, churches, centres of spiritual significance and places of historical and cultural importance. They will highly appreciate the initiative of individuals and societies in organising, on behalf of the Mission, any of the above-mentioned activities.

It will be a great help to the organisers of the Mission, if Indians residing in Britain and English friends having connections in India will put them in touch with people likely to be interested in the cause. The Mission is earnestly seeking the moral support of cultural India and the help of the Indian people in every concrete way.

Those who are in sympathy with the Msssion and willing to help financially or otherwise are requested to communicate with Vyvyen Jenkins and Radha Rani Borkar, Joint Secretaries, the Indo-British Goodwill and Cultural Mission to India, 51 Lancaster Gate, London, W.2.

OBITUARY

Pandit Sri *T. R. Seshadri Sarma* passed away on 1-5-47. After serving in the Adyar Library for long, he willingly undertook to catalogue the Library of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute for a nominal honorarium and did his work in a thorough manner. The late Pandit was always renowned for his neat Library work and print-like handwriting.

In the passing away on 6th April '47 of Sri *T. R. V. Sarma* Retd. Accountant General, the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute lost one of its valued Fellows. Sri T. R. V. Sarma took great interest in Sāma Veda, to which he belonged, and at the time of his sad demise, he was engaged in editing a Lakṣaṇa grantha of the veda, which he intended to offer to the K. S. R. Institute.

We are sorry to note that the well known Buddhist Scholar, Sri *Dharmanand Kosambi*, passed away at Sewagram on 4-6-47.

At Bangalore, Sri *D. Venkataramayya*, Retd. member of the Mysore Educational Service, passed away. He had published a Translation of the Sastradīpikā (Tarkapada) in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. His Translation of the Pañcapādikā of Padmapāda for the same series is now in press.

We regret to record the death on 4-6-47 of Sri *T. K. Balasubrahmanya Ayyar*, Founder and Proprietor of the well known Vani Vilas Press and Publications, the Sankara Gurukula and its Sanskrit Journal, the Tamil Monthly 'Vani Vilāsinī' and the English Periodical 'Hindu Message' through all of which he rendered signal service to the cause of Hindu culture and the publication of Sanskrit works, especially many rare works produced in South India. Special mention must be made of the Memorial edition of the Complete Works of Śaṅkarācārya brought out by him.

On 9-7-47, passed away Sri Pandit *K. G. Natesa Sastrigal*, Professor, Venkataramana Ayurvedic College. He was proficient in Āyurveda and Jyotiṣa and was keenly interested in research.

On 18-7-47, Mr. *Shaffat Ahmed Khan* passed away in Simla. Before he rose to prominence in Politics and public life.

Shaffat Ahmed Khan was Professor of History and was intimately connected with the Journal of Indian History and the Indian History Congress.

It is with great sorrow that we record here the passing away on 16-7-47 of Sri *B. Sitarama Rao*, a distinguished Advocate of the Madras Bar, and a gentleman of high cultural attainments. He was for a long time the Chairman of the Board of Studies in Kannada in the Madras University. He took great interest in the Samskrita Academy, the Journal of Oriental Research, and the K. S. R. Institute of which last he was a Fellow.

OUR OWN PUBLICATIONS

1. **Vibhrama-Viveka** of Maṇḍana Miśra—edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvācaspati Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar, M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.) and Vedāntālaṅkāra Prof. T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Sanskrit College, Mylapore, Madras .. 0 12 0
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3. **Tolkāppiyam** with an English translation, by Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A., L.T., Ph.D., Principal, Raja's College, Tiruvadi (Vol. I) .. 1 0 0
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Copies can be had of: **The Secretaries,**

The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute,

Mylapore, MADRAS.

TOLKĀPPIYAM.

Section III—Poruḷ-atikāram.

i. Akattiṇai-y-iyal.

1. கைக்கிளை முதலாப் பெருந்திணை யிறுவாய்
முற்படக் கிளந்த வெழுதிணை யென்ப.

Kaikkiḷai mutal-ā-p perun-tiṇai y-iṟuvāy
Muṟ-paṭa-k kiḷanta v-eḻu-tiṇai y-eṉpa.

They say that the groups commencing with *kaikkiḷai* and ending with *peruntiṇai* mentioned before are the seven *tiṇais.*

Note 1. The *uddēśya* in the *sūtra* is *kaikkiḷai-mutal-ā-p-peruntiṇai-y-iṟuvāy* and the *vidhēya* is *eḻu-tiṇai.* Hence *kaikkiḷai-mutal-ā-p-peruntiṇai-y-iṟuvāy* should be taken as *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai.* The group is *kaikkiḷai, mullai, kuṟiñci, pālai, marutam, neytal* and *peruntiṇai.* This is understood from the *sūtras.*

Māyōṉ mēya kāṭuṟai y-ulakam-um ... (Akat. 5).
Naṭuvu-nilai-t tiṇai-y-ē ... (Akat. 11).
Vākai tāṉ-ē pālaiyatu puṟaṉ-ē (Puṟat. 73).

Iḷampūraṇar gives an alternative meaning where the *uddēśya* and the *vidhēya* are inverted. The first meaning seems to be better if we compare the style of this *sūtra* with that of the *first* sūtra in the *Eḻuttatikāram.* In the first interpretation he has taken *kiḷanta* to be a finite verb and in the second *peyar-eccam* qualifying *eḻu-tiṇai.* Since the names kaikkiḷai, mullai etc., and their order were already mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṉar's predecessors, it may be taken as *peyar-eccam* qualifying *kaikkiḷai-mutal-ā-p-peruntiṇai-y-iṟuvāy* rather than *eḻu-tiṇai.*

Note 2. There is difference of opinion in the interpretation of the word *tiṇai* between Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar. The former takes it in the sense of *poruḷ* (*padārtha*) and the latter in the sense of *oḻukkam* (conduct, amorous state). Since *tiṇai* connotes *mutaṟ-poruḷ, karu-p-poruḷ* and *uri-p-poruḷ* and *oḻukkam* can refer only to *uri-p-poruḷ,* Iḷampūraṇar's interpretation is sound. Iḷampūraṇar himself mentions this argument in the next *sūtra.*

Note 3. The expressions *muṟ-paṭa-k-kiḷanta* and *eṉpa* suggest that this classification of *aka-t-tiṇai* (*padārthas*

described in poems dealing with love) was not done by Tolkāppiyaṉār, but was already done by his predecessors.

Note 4. *ā* is the curtailed from of *āka*; *iṟuvāy* is a noun meaning *iṟuti-y-iṭam* and hence *iṟuvāy* and *īṟu* have the same meaning. The word *vāy* is frequently used as a noun in the sense of *place* in Sangam classics. cf. *E-v-vāyuṅ kavara* (Neṭunal. 17).

Note 5. *Ēḻ*+*tiṇai* becomes *eḻu-tiṇai*. This usage suggests that the change of *ēḻ* to *eḻu* takes place not only when the following word denotes measurement, weight or number as is mentioned in Tol. Eḻut. 390, but also in other places. Hence the word *eḻu-tiṇai* here is a *jñāpaka* to the extension of the *sūtra* Tol. Eḻut. 390.

Note 6. *Poruḷ-atikāram* is the section which deals with *poruḷ* described in Poetry. Hence it may be called the section on the Science of Poetics. This is clearly seen from the expression *pāṭaluṭpayiṉṟavai* in the third sūtra here. Iḷampūraṇar has stated the same in his sentence '*poruḷ eṉpatu yātō eṉiṉ, mēṟ collappaṭṭa colliṉ uṇarappaṭuvatu*'. The section dealing with the Science of Poetics naturally follows the sections dealing with Phonology and Morphology and Syntax. It consists of nine *iyals* or chapters:—*akattiṇai-y-iyal*, *puṟattiṇai-y-iyal*, *kaḷaviyal*, *kaṟpiyal*, *poruḷiyal*, *meyppāṭṭiyal*, *uvama-v-iyal* *ceyyuḷ-iyal* and *marapiyal*.

Note 7. *Akattiṇai-y-iyal* deals with the *poruḷ* found in love-poetry in general. The word *akam* which means *mind* is first taken to mean *the love felt in mind by the lovers* and then *love-poetry*. Hence *akam* in the word *akattiṇai-y-iyal* means 'love-poetry' and is an *ākupeyar*.

Note 8. The word *muṟ-paṭa* is taken by *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar* to suggest *piṟ-paṭa* with reference to the seven *puṟa-t-tiṇai* in the second chapter. It seems that it is far-fetched. It may be due to the fact that the two lines

Veṭci mutal-ā-p pāṭā ṇ-iṟuvāy
Muṟpaṭa-k kiḷanta v-eḻutiṇai y-eṉpa are missing in the first sūtra of the *Puṟattiṇai-y-iyal*.

Note 9. The word *tiṇai* in this sūtra denotes *akattiṇai*. This is suggested by the mention of *akattiṇai* in the last *sūtra* of this *iyal* and the first sūtra of the next *iyal*:—

Puṟattiṇai maruṅkiṟ porunti ṉ-allatu
Akattiṇai maruṅki ṉ-aḷavuta l-ila-v-ē (Akat. 58.)

Akattiṇai maruṅki ṉ-ariṟapa v-uṇarntōr
Puṟattiṇai y-ilakkaṇan tiṟappaṭa-k- kiḷappiṉ(Puṟat. 1.)

2. அவற்றுள்,
நடுவ ணைந்திணை நடுவண தொழியப்
படுதிரை வையம் பாத்திய பண்பே.

Avaṟṟuḷ
Naṭuva ṇ-ain-tiṇai naṭuvaṇa t-oḻiya-p
Paṭu-tirai vaiyam pāttiya paṇp-ē.

Of them the middle five except the middle one are of the nature of owning land surrounded by seas apportioned to them.

Note 1. There is difference of opinion in the construction of the word *oḻiya.* Iḷampūraṇar takes it to be a *viṉai-y-eccam* modifying the *peyar-eccam, pāttiya.* He also mentions that some took it as a finite verb forming the predicate of *paṇpŭ.* Since *paṇpŭ* is in the singular number and *oḻiya* should be taken as plural verb, it seems to me that it might have been an interpolation. Naccinārkkiṉiyar takes it to be a *viṉai-y-eccam* modifying *ceytār* (understood). If *niṉṟa* is taken to be understood after *oḻiya,* the phrase *naṭuvaṇatu oḻiya niṉṟa* may be taken as an adjectival phrase, qualifying *naṭuvaṇ-aintiṇai. Naṭuvaṇ* is a noun meaning 'the middle place' and *naṭuvaṇatŭ* is a *viṉaiyāl-aṇaiyum peyar,* literally meaning 'that which has the middle place.' Since the *kuṟippu-viṉai* (appellative verb) has generally a noun for its stem, it is wrong to have taken *naṭuvaṇ* as an adverb in the Tamil Lexicon of the University of Madras.

Though Naccinārkkiṉiyar does not differ in the interpretation of the *sūtra* from Iḷampūraṇar, yet the manner of interpretation is laboured and is not as direct as that of Iḷampūraṇar.

3. முதல்கரு வுரிப்பொரு ளென்ற மூன்றே
நுவலுங் காலை முறைசிறந் தனவே
பாடலுட் பயின்றவை நாடுங் காலை.

Mutal-karu v-uri-p-poru ḷ-eṉṟa mūṉṟ-ē
Nuvaluṅ kālai muṟai-ciṟan taṉa-v-ē
Pāṭaluṭ payiṉṟavai nāṭuṅ kālai.

On examining the *padārthas* used in poetry, those of them which are important in their order are *mutaṟ-poruḷ, karu-p-poruḷ* and *uri-p-poruḷ.*

Note 1. *Avarrul* is taken here from the previous sūtra and it means *attiṇaiyuḷ=apporuḷkaḷuḷ*.

Note 2. This sūtra classifies *poruḷ* primarily into three.

Note 3. The word *murai* means order; it is here a noun in the third case with the suffix being dropped. Ilampūraṇar infers from the expression *murai cirantana* that *mutar-poruḷ* is more important than the other two and *karu-p-poruḷ* is more important than *uri-p-paruḷ*. Naccinārkkiniyar takes it in the reverse order. He states that *karu-p-poruḷ* is more important than *mutar-poruḷ*, and *uri p-poruḷ* is more important than *karu-p-poruḷ*. Since time and place which form the *mutar-poruḷ* are primarily necessary for all padārthas, Iḷampūraṇar's interpretation is more natural than Naccinārkkiniyar's.

Note 4. The world *pāṭaluḷ* is very significanct. It tells us that the whole section—Poruḷatikāram deals with Poetry and not History of the Tamil country or social customs.

The next *sūtra* tells us the classification of *mutar-poruḷ*.

4. முதலெனப் படுவது நிலம்பொழு திரண்டின்
இயல்பென மொழிப வியல்புணர்ந் தோரே.

Mutul-ena-p paṭuvatu nilam-poḻut-iraṇṭin
Iyalp-ena moḻipa v-iyalp-uṇarn tōr-ē.

Men of the world say that *mutar-poruḷ* consists of place and time.

What then is the region for each *tiṇai*?

5. மாயோன் மேய காடுறை யுலகமும்
சேயோன் மேய மைவரை யுலகமும்
வேந்தன் மேய தீம்புன லுலகமும்
வருணன் மேய பெருமண லுலகமும்
முல்லை குறிஞ்சி மருத நெய்தலெனச்
சொல்லிய முறையாற் சொல்லவும் படுமே.

Māyōn mēya kāṭurai y-ulakam-um
Cēyōn mēya mai-varai y-ulakam-um
Vēntan mēya tīm-punal l-ulakam-um
Varuṇan mēya peru-maṇal-ulakam-um
Mullai kuriñci maruta neytal-ena-c
Colliya muraiyār colla v-um paṭum-ē

The forest region presided by Viṣṇu, the mountain region presided by Murukan, the region of sweet waters presided by Indra, and the region of extensive sand presided by Varuṇa are

said to be in the order mentioned, *mullai, kuṟiñci, marutam* and *neytal*.

Note. 1. This sūtra tells us the *nilam* or region of each of the four *tiṇais* which have their regions apportioned.

Note. 2. Both Iḷampūraṇar and Naccinārkkiniyar take the four *ulakamum* as the subject, *collavumpaṭum* as the predicate and *mullai, kuriñci, marutam* and *neytal* as subjective compliments. Since *mullai* and the other three have been mentioned in the second sūtra *supra*, it seems to me that we may take *mullai kuṟiñci marutam neytal eṉa-c colliya* as the subject, the four *ulakam* as nouns in the seventh case with the suffix being dropped and *colla* as an infinitive forming the predicate *of mullai* etc. the subject of *paṭum* which means 'is appropriate'. We find such a usage in *vañcarai y-añca-p paṭum* (Tiruk. 824). Then the meaning of the sūtra may be given thus:—It is appropriate that the said terms *mullai, kuṟiñci, marutam*, and *neytal* may also be applied to the forest, region presided by *Viṣṇu*, the mountainous region presided by *Murukaṉ*, the sweet-water region presided by *Indra* and the extensive sand region presided by *Varuṇa*. In that case the particular *um* after *colla* is significant being an *eccavummai*.

Note. 3. This is one of the important sūtras in the Tolkāppiyam which tell us that Dravidians and Aryans should have lived together so closely for a very long time that the Dravidians took three Ṛg vēdic deities as the guardian deities of the three *tiṇais, mullai, marutam* and *neytal*. As regards *Murukaṉ*, most of the Tamil scholars of the present day think that He is a Dravidian God. Why they think so is a thing to be investigated. A study of the Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai, and the Paripāṭal in the Tamil Literature and the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa in the Sanskrit Literature has made me doubt the veracity of the statement that *Murukaṉ* is a Dravidian God. The following parallels regarding *Murukaṉ* found in the Tamil Literature and the Sanskrit Literature deserve careful scrutiny at the hands of scholars:

Mū-v-eyil murukkiya muraṇ-miku celvaṉum

... ...

Ulakaṅ kākku m-oṉṟu-puri koḷkai-p
Palar-pukaḻ *mūvarun* talaiva r-āka

... ...

Nālvē ṟ-iyarkai-p *patiṉoru mūvaroṭu*

... ...

Antara-k koṭpiṉar vantuṭaṉ *kāṇa-t*
Tāvil-koḷkai maṭantaiyoṭu ciṉṉāḷ
Āvi naṉ-kuṭi y-acaital-u m-uriyaṉ

(Tirumu. 154—176).

Tatō *dēvās-trayastriṁśad*-diṣaśca sadigīśvarāḥ|
Rudrō dhātā ca *viṣṇuś*-ca yamaḥ pūṣāryamā bhagaḥ||
Pṛthag bhūtāni cānyāni yāni *dēvagaṇāni* vai |
Ājagmus-tē-adbhutan *draṣṭum* kumārañ jvalanātmajam||

(M. B. Anuśāsana 133, 15-17).

Aṟuvar payanta āramar celva

(Tirumu. 255).

Tāstu *ṣaṭ-kṛttikā* garbham pupuṣur jātavedasaḥ|

(M. B. Anuśāsana 133,8).

Vāṉōr vaṇaṅku-viṟ ṟāṉai-t talaiva

(Tirūmu. 260)

Sāināpatyēna tan dēvāḥ pūjayitvā guhālayam

(M. B. Anuśasana. 133, 28).

Kōḻi y-ōṅkiya veṉṟaṭu viṟaṟ-koṭi

(Tirumu. 38.)

Kukkutaś cāgninā dattas tasya kētur-alaṅkṛtaḥ

(M. B. Vana. 229, 41).

Umaiyoṭu puṇarnta kāma vatuvaiyuḷ
Amaiyā-p puṇarcci y-amaiya neṟṟi
Imaiya nāṭṭa-t t-oru-varaṅ koṇṭu
Vilaṇkeṉa viṇṇor vēḷvi mutalvaṉ
Viri-katir maṇi-p-pū ṇ-avaṟku-t-tā ṉittatu
Aritena māṟṟāṉ vāymaiya ṉ-ātaliṉ
Eri-kaṉaṉ ṟāṉā-kkuṭāri-koṇ ṭ-avaṉ-uruvu
Tirittiṭ ṭōṉ-iv v-ulakēḻu maruḷa

... ...

Vaṭavayiṉ viḷaṅkā l-uṟai-y-eḻu makaḷiruḷ
Kaṭavu ḷ-orumīṉ cāliṉi y-oḻiya
Aṟuvar māṟṟaiyōru m-annilai y-ayiṉṟaṉar.

(Paripāṭal. 5, 28-45).

Dēvyā vivāhē nirvṛttē rudrāṇyā bhṛgunandana|
Samāgamē bhagavatō dēvyā saha mahātmanaḥ||
Tatas sarvē samudvignā dēvā rudram upāgaman|

... ...

Varam prayaccha lōkēśa trāilōkya-hita-kāmyayā||

... ...

Na dēvyām sambhavēt putrō bhavataḥ surasattama|
Dhṛtyā dēva nigṛhṇīṣva tējō jvalitam uttamam|

... ...

Rudras tu tējō-apratimam dhārayāmāsa vāi sadā|
Praskannan tu tatas tasmāt kiñcit tatrāpatad bhuvi|
Utpapāta tadā vahnāu vavṛdhē cādbhutopamam
(M. B. Anuśāsana 130, 61-78).

Vipanna-kṛtyā rājēndra dēvatā ṛṣayas tathā|
Kṛttikāś cōdayāmāsur apatyabharaṇāya vai|
Tās tu ṣat kṛttikā garbham pupuṣur jātavēdasaḥ|

... .

Samaṅ garbhaṁ suṣuvirē kṛttikās tā nararṣabha|
Divyaṁ śaravaṇam prāpya vavṛdhē priyadarśanaḥ|
(M. B. Anuśāsana. 133, 5-12).

The same idea is expressed in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa, Bāla-kāṇḍa, 36th sarga.

Aṉalaṉ ṟaṉ-meyyiṟ pirittu-c
Celva *vāraṇaṅ* koṭuttōṉ (Paripāṭal 5, 57-58).
Kukkutaś cāgninā dattaḥ (M. B. Vana. 229, 41).
......Vāṉattu
Vaḷaṅ-keḻu celvaṉ...
......Aṇi-mayil koṭuttōṉ
Tiruntu-kōṉ ñamaṉ......
Iruṅkaṉ veḷ-yāṭ ṭeḻiṉ-maṟi koṭuttōṉ
Āaṅk-avarum piṟarum-amarntu-paṭai y-aḷitta
Maṟiyu maññaiyum vāraṇa-c cēvalum
(Paripāṭal 5, 58-64).

Suparṇō'sya dadāu putram mayūrañ citrabarhiṇam|
Rākṣasāśca dadus tasmāi varāha-mahiṣāv-ubhāu|
Kukkutañ cāgnisaṅkāśam pradadāu varuṇaḥ svayam|
Candramāḥ pradadāu mēṣam ādityō rucirām prabhām|
Chāgam agnir guṇōpētam ilā puṣpa-phalam bahu|[1]
(M. B. Anuśāsana. 133, 21-23).

Aṟumukat t-āṟiru tōḷāl veṉṟi (Paripāṭal 14, 21).
Ṣaḍānanaṅ kumāran tu dvi-ṣaḍ-akṣam dvija-priyam|
Pīnāṁsam *dvādaśa-bhujam* (M. B.)
Tevvu-k kuṉṟattu-t tiruntu-*vē* *l*-aḻutti
A-v-varai y-*uṭaittōy* (Paripāṭal 19, 102-23.)
Bibhēda krāuñcam śaktyā ca pāvakiḥ para-vīra-hā
(M. B. Śalya. 47, 91.)

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1. There is some difference in the givers of gifts mentioned in the Paripāṭal and the Mahābhārata.

Note 4. Iḷampūraṇar mentions that the *tiṇai* names *mullai, kuṟiñai, marutam* and *neytal* sprang from the names of the most important flower of each region. Naccinārkkiniyar does not agree with him, and condemns him on the ground that other flowers also are found in the respective regions and says that, since the words *mullai, kuṟiñci, marutaṃ* and *neytal* have been used in Literature in the sense of *iruttal, puṇarcci, ūṭal* and *iraṅkal*, the *tiṇais* have been so named. The reason for his saying so is perhaps the sūtra *uri-p-poruḷ-allaṉa mayaṅkarum peṟum-ē* (Akat. 15).

But he does not interpret it in the sense that all *padārthas other than uri-pporuḷ* may have *mayakkam.* Since a region, the products of the region and the śṛṅgārāvasthā described in the region are all called by one of the names *mullai, kuṟiñci, marutam* and *neytal,* it may not be safe to assume that the name might have been taken from that of a flower or a particular *śṛṅgārāvasthā.*

Note 5. The presiding deity of every *tiṇai* is *karupporuḷ.* When such is the case, why did Tolkāppiyaṉār mention the presiding deities in the sūtra dealing with the regions of *tiṇais?* Naccinārkkiniyar answers this thus :—He may suggest from it that *pālai* does not have a presiding deity of its own and the presiding deity of a region does not have the possibility of change as other *karu-p-poruḷs* like trees, animals, etc. have.

Note 6. *Māyōṉ* means *Viṣṇu.* What is its derivation?

The Skt. word *mā* which means *Lakṣmī* was used in that sense in early Tamil Literature :—

Cf. Mā-maṟutta malar-mārpiṉ (Puṟa. 7)

Hence the word *māyaṉ* might have been formed by adding *aṉ* to mā to mean *one having Lakṣmī*; the *ā* of *māyaṉ* might have been lengthened in verse for the sake of metre on the strength of the *sūtra.*

An-nāṟ col-l-un toṭukkuṅi kālai.
Nīṭṭum-vaḻi nīṭṭalum (Tol. col. 403)

and the *ā* might have been changed to ō on the strength of the *sūtra.*

Ā-v-ō v-ākum peyar-um-ā r-uḷa-vē (Tol. col. 195)

Some seem to think that *māyōṉ* means 'a person of dark complexion' and hence *Viṣṇu.* Since the meaning of 'dark color' to the word *mā* may have come from *Lakṣmī* through the

meaning of 'beauty', it is better to have the meaning 'one having *Lakṣmī*'

Mēya is the curtailed form of *mēviya*. Hence it is an example for *Syncope*. It is called by Tamil grammarians *iṭai-k-kuṟai.*

Kāṭuṟai-y-ulakam is a compound word make up of three *kāṭu*, *uṟaiyum*, and *ulakam*.

Cēyōṉ. The word *cēy* was used in the sense of *redness* and *Skanda* in early Tamil Literature:—

cf. Cēy-uṟṟa kār-nīr varavu (Paripā, 11, 114)
Cēy-kūṉṟam (*ibid.* 6, 69).

and also it was used in the sense of *son.*

Tayaratan-cēy (Periyatiru. 3, 19, 6).

If it originally meant *redness,* the word *cēyan* should have been formed by adding *aṉ* to *cēy* to mean 'a man of red complexion.' If, on the other hand, it originally meant 'child', cēyaṉ should have been formed in the same way as before by adding *aṉ* to *cēy* with the difference that, here, *aṉ* conveys no meaning. In that case *cēyaṉ* and Skt. *Kumāra* will convey the same sense. Then it might have been applied to *Skanda*. The *a* or *cēyaṉ* should then have been lengthened to *ā* for the sake of metre and *ā* should have been changed to *ō* in verse as the case of *māyōṉ*.

Mai-varai-y-ulakam. *Mai* means 'dark cloud.' Hence *mai-varai-y-ulakam* literally means 'the region where dark clouds rest' and hence it means 'mountainous region'. It is a compound word made up of these words *mai, varaiyum* and *ulakam*.

Vēntaṉ here means Indra; hence scholars derive it from *dēvēndra*; *dēvēndra* may become *tēvēntaṉ* in Tamil and *tē* should have been dropped. In that case *vēntaṉ* for *tēvēntaṉ* is an example of partial *Aphesis*. Later on the word might have extended its meaning to denote *king* in general. It had its curtailed form also in *vēntu*:—

Cf. Pāṭu-tuṟai muṟṟiya koṟṟa vēntē (Puṟa. 21.)

Tīm-puṉal-ulakam. The appropriateness of the epithet *tīm* to *puṉal* deserves to be noted. The word literally means 'the region of sweet water'. The epithet *tīm* is used to distinguish it from *peru-maṇal-ulakam* which is *uvar-puṉal-ulakam*.

Similarly the epithet *peru* to *maṇal* in the word *peru-maṇal-ulakam* is to distinguish sea coast from 'tiny sand islets in rivers'.

Colliya is a *viṉaiyāl-aṇaiyum-peyar* meaning *collapaṭṭaṉa*.

Muṟaiyāṉ means 'respectively'. The use of the word testifies that Tolkāppiyaṉār is a scientific grammarian.

What then is the season for each *tiṇai*?

6. காரு மாலையு முல்லை.

Kār-u mālai-y-u mullai.

(It is appropriate that) *mullai* is applied to winter season and the first third part of the night.

Note 1. The words *eṉa collavum* and *paṭumē* are taken here from the previous *sūtra*.

Note 2. Time was divided into *perum-poḻutū* or season or part of a year and *ciṟupoḻutū* or part of a day.

Note 3. This sūtra and the next are taken as one *sūtra* by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, which is not scientific.

Note 4. The sentence 'mutal-karu-uripporuḷ eṉṉummūṉṟu-pāluṅ koṇṭu ōr-tiṇaiyām eṉṟu kūṟiṉārēṉum oru pāliṉaiyun tiṇai-y eṉṟu a-p-peyarāṉ ē kūṟiṉār', in the Nacciṉārkkiṉiyam is not necessary, since the three—mutaṟ-poruḷ, karu-p-poruḷ and uripporuḷ are not collectively said as *tiṇai* by Tolkāppiyaṉār. Besides Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar has stated so, since *tiṇai*, according to him, is *oḻukkam* and not *poruḷ* He does not seem to have understood that *poruḷ* meant *padārtha* and not *object*.

Note 5. The months of *āvaṇi* and *purattāci* are considered to be winter season. The word *mālai* connotes the first four hours of the night. But at present *mālai* connotes *sunset*.

Note 6. The *uddēśyā* in the *sūtra* is *mullai* and the *vidhēya* is *kārum mālaiyum*.

Note 7. The word *kār* which originally denoted black object, began to denote the winter season through its extended meaning—the black cloud.

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1. *cf*. The word *mahākāla* in the sentence grīṣmābhidhānaḥ hpulla-mallikā-dhavalāṭṭahāsō *mahākālaḥ* (Bāṇa's Harṣacarita.)

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